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614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

613 ● 583 *Sub-clans and Kindreds.*—The principal clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a [616] process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

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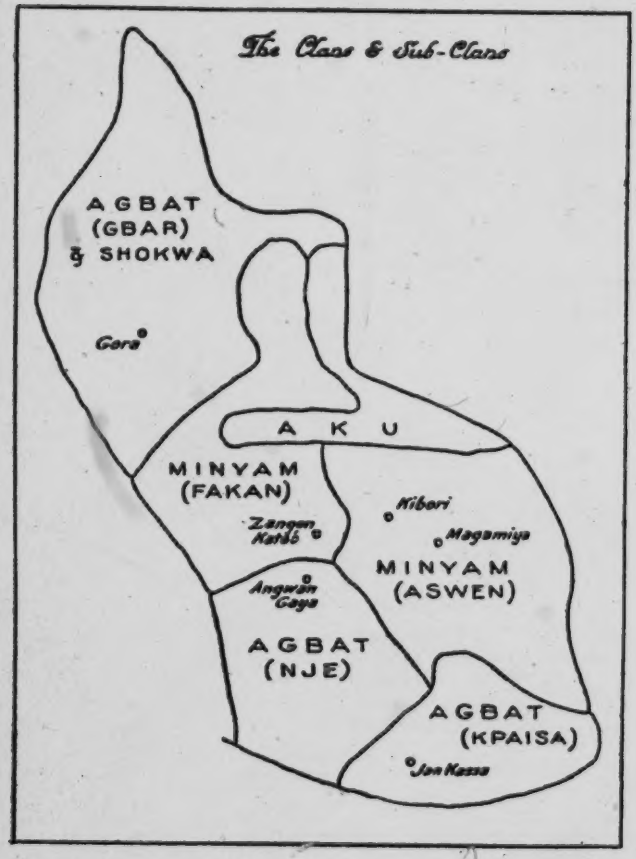
organization.[1] Thus the Minyam clan consists of the moieties[2] Fakan and Aswen, each politically independent and each inclined to be hostile to the other owing to the fact that each constitutes




a group from which the other may abduct married women to become secondary wives. The two sections claim to have had a common father. This cannot now be proved genealogically and

[1] But not a dual organization of the specific type known to anthropologists.
[2] The term "moieties" as used here bears no special sociological significance.

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613 may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids inter-
583 marriage between members of the moieties, a rule which may
616 have been based on reasons other than those of blood relationship. The Agbat clan has a triple division, viz. Gbar Kokwak (Kwak), Kpaisa and Nje, but it was stated that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date.

612 The sub-clans are composed of kindreds (*kwai* or *bin*), the
616 term kindred being used here to describe the unilateral grouping of a number of families related through the father. Thus the Aswen sub-clan consists of the following kindreds: (1) Amurum-Alan, (2) Yagofo, (3) Awai, (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organization was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties Amurum-Alan and Yagofo, the former being the religious, the latter the political chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo people the art of skinning animals, the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo having previously been in the habit of roasting animals with the skin on. Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabbanchan.

614 The small clans of Aku and Shokwa have no sub-clan organiza-
612 tion and appear to consist of a number of kindreds or adopted groups. There does not appear to be any formal rite of initiation into the clan. A boy learns the rules of exogamy as soon as he reaches the age of puberty, and is shown the costume of the local tutelary genius when he has learnt to use the hoe. The kindreds are, of course, exogamous.

614 The following tables summarize (*a*) the kinship and (*b*) the
613 territorial groupings:—
612

(*a*) KINSHIP GROUPINGS

| *Clan.* | *Sub-Clan.* | *Kindreds and Adopted Groups.* |
|---|---|---|
| Minyam | Fakan | Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda. |
| | Aswen | Amurum-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Magemmi, Kofo. |
| Agbat | Gbar | Angwai, Tainchen, Telen. |
| | Kpaisa | ? |
| | Nje | Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba. |
| Aku | — | Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon. |
| Shokwa | — | Kuzat, Kamantam. |

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583 *Types of Marriage.*—The social grouping is intimately bound up with the marriage regulations. For these regulations have either given rise to the clan and sub-clan organization, or are the direct outcome of that organization. They throw a great deal of light on the general question of exogamy, and it will be necessary therefore to study them in some detail. We may begin by observing that there are three main types of marriage :—

(*a*) A man may marry a girl who had not previously been married.

(*b*) He may elope with a married woman.

(*c*) He may marry a widow.

In type (*a*) the marriage is by purchase (which may include agricultural service), the bride-price at present amounting to a total of about £1 plus one goat, which is the perquisite of the bride's mother. The agricultural services rendered to the bride's parents may be assessed at four to seven days' work annually for four to seven years. The marriage is concluded by a ceremony of capture, which is carried out with the connivance of the parents. Until recently capture played a more prominent part, for it was customary in the case of girls obtained from other tribes (but not from other clans) to effect the capture first and compensate the parents afterwards. It was also not uncommon for the member of one sub-clan to capture the fiancée of the member of another sub-clan, who was subsequently compensated, should he elect to resign all claim to the girl. As no man may marry a woman of his own clan, wives of type (*a*) are normally obtained from the villages of neighbouring clans or of adjacent tribes. It happens occasionally, however, that a wife of type (*a*) may be obtained locally; she may be the daughter of a man who has settled in a village belonging to some other clan than his own. It will be convenient to refer to wives of the type (*a*) as *primary* wives.

Type (*b*). The second type of marriage, viz. that contracted with a married woman, is the most outstanding feature of the social life of the Katab and neighbouring tribes. A married woman elopes with another man with whom she may live for any period varying from a year to the rest of her life. It may be objected that this is merely concubinage and not a marriage at all, but if we accept Westermarck's definition of marriage as being a more or less durable connection lasting beyond the

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583 mere act of propagation until after the birth of the offspring, then these runaway unions are, generally speaking, genuine marriages. They are certainly so regarded by the natives; and the lover, after obtaining the woman's consent, has to secure the goodwill of her parents by making money payments (amounting nowadays to 15s. plus one goat) which have every [684] appearance of being a bride-price. To elope with a married woman without having made these payments is considered a serious offence.[1]

[851] Children begotten by the secondary husband belong to him. The original husband does not claim compensation for the loss of his wife, for he hopes that she will eventually return to him. A secondary husband, similarly, cannot claim the return of his payments if he in turn is abandoned. A Katab woman may thus in her lifetime have had as many as ten different husbands; but a woman so fickle would be regarded as being little better than a harlot among the more sophisticated tribes. Parents, [626] moreover, who consistently encourage a daughter to change her husband are viewed with contempt. Religious rites are even performed every three years, the object of which is to put a check on excess of elopement marriages.

The system of sub-marriages has been regarded with disfavour by both the Fulani and British administrations, and suggestions have been made and rules introduced for modifying or abrogating the practice, which is clearly a source of trouble to those in authority. We shall see presently, however, that the social organization of the Katab tribe is intimately bound up with the institution of sub-marriages. No regulations affecting the institution should, therefore, be introduced without a full understanding of their probable effect, nor should the opinion of the tribal chiefs themselves be accepted as final in the matter, for they may agree to changes the full effect of which they themselves are unable clearly to foresee.

587 Type (*c*). The third type of marriage is that produced by the inheritance or purchase of a widow. Sons may inherit and marry their father's or grandfather's widows (though marriages with the grandfather's widows are necessarily of rare occurrence)

[1] In the case of wives obtained *from neighbouring tribes* (capture or arrangement with the woman) the woman's parents were not consulted, though a bride-price might subsequently be paid.

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587 and both the junior and senior levirate are practised. A man may, in addition to his brother's widow, inherit the widow of his father's brother's son. But the inheritance of a maternal uncle's widows is not permissible among the Katab (though it is among their Gwari neighbours). It should be noted in connection with inheritance that secondary wives are heritable equally with primary wives, and that heritors are entitled to endeavour to recover the runaway wives of the person from whom they inherit without making payments to the women's parents.

[428]

582 *Marriage and Social Groupings.*—The fundamental feature in the social organization of the tribes is that no man may contract any form of marriage with any woman of his own clan. Descent is reckoned patrilineally. No man, therefore, may marry by purchase or elope with a woman whose father belongs to the same clan as himself. Thus a male of the Fakan sub-clan may not marry a female of the Fakan sub-clan, nor yet a female of the Aswen sub-clan, as Fakan and Aswen are moieties of the Minyam clan. In this connection it is important to remember that groups of immigrants have in some cases been adopted into a clan, and where this has happened the exogamous rule is applicable. No Fakan, for example, may marry a girl of the village of Magamiya, for the people of Magamiya, though belonging to a different tribe (viz. Ikulu), have been adopted by the Aswen sub-clan, and are therefore reckoned by the Fakan as fellow clansmen (i.e. as Minyam).

[611]

We have thus a well-developed system of clan exogamy among the Katab which is worthy of note; for it would seem that in the majority of Nigerian tribes marriage is regulated by consanguinity considerations rather than by the clan mechanism. Consanguinity is, of course, a bar to marriage among the Katab, for not only is intermarriage with the father's kin totally prohibited (by the clan organization), but inter-marriage with the social group of the mother is also prohibited to this extent that a man, though he may marry into his mother's clan, must avoid marriage with close blood relatives of his mother. All cousin marriages are taboo.

582 We now come to the consideration of the rules governing the contraction of sub-marriages. We may begin by stating that
● 583 no man may elope with (*a*) a married woman who is a member of his own clan or closely related to his mother, (*b*) the wife of

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a member of the household from whom he has already obtained a primary wife, (*c*) the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group. (*a*) has already been dealt with. The objection to (*b*) is obvious and would be summed up by the Katab in the statement that you cannot marry a girl and then marry her "mother" too. As regards (*c*) the prohibition against elopement with the wife of a member of one's local group appears to be dependent on the principle that it is inadvisable to make an enemy of one's next-door neighbour. For the same reason, no doubt, elopement with the wife of a member of one's own kindred is prohibited, a rule which suggests that if marriage by capture was the original form of marriage, exogamy may have been the outcome of the desire to avoid local conflict, and may have had nothing to do with such feelings as the fear of consanguinity or a dislike of mating with women with whom one lives in daily contact. The practice of wife-stealing, coexistent with the practice of consanguineous marriages, would certainly create an impossible position in any society.

The rule that no one may elope with the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group has its counterpart in the prohibition of elopement marriages between the two largest clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat. That is to say, a Minyam man may not contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Agbat man and vice versa, even although by contracting such a marriage he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. But a Minyam or Agbat man may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of a member of the Aku or Shokwa clans, provided he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. Members of the Minyam and Agbat clans state that the reason why they abstain from eloping with each others' wives is that "a man may not marry his mother-in-law", which is merely another way of stating that it is improper to steal wives from a community whose daughters you are permitted to marry. But if this is so, why do Minyam and Agbat both steal the daughters and elope with the wives of the Aku and Shokwa clans (and also of neighbouring tribes)? The answer given is that the Aku and Shokwa clans are responsible, and that it is time that these two clans confined their wife-stealing energies to sub-divisions of their own clans (which may be a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument). Aku and Shokwa state that they are not yet sufficiently numerous to

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582 583 614 abandon the practice of eloping with wives of other clans, and this would appear to be a genuine explanation, for if a clan has, like Shokwa, no subdivision larger than two localized kindreds, between whom wife-stealing would be impossible, then the members are compelled to seek secondary wives outside the limits of the clan. The real reason why Minyam and Agbat abstain from eloping with each other's wives is that the majority of the primary wives of Minyam men are Agbat women and vice versa.[1] If, therefore, a Minyam man were to elope with the wife of an Agbat man he would be eloping with a member of his own clan. There would, however, be no theoretical reason why a Minyam man should not elope with the wife of an Agbat man, provided she did not belong to the Minyam clan. The prohibition possibly dates back to a time when Minyam and Agbat formed two exogamous divisions of a single clan, and all the wives of Minyam men were Agbat women and vice versa.

582 583 613 The next point to observe is that, although extra-clan elopements are forbidden to Minyam and Agbat,[2] inter-clan elopements are the normal rule between the subsections of these clans, e.g. in the Agbat clan, which consists of the subclans Kwak, Kpaisa, and Nje, a man of Kwak may steal the wife of a man of Kpaisa, and a man of Kpaisa may steal the wife of a man of Nje, and so on. This is indeed so much the normal procedure that a member of one sub-clan refers to a member of another as his *nungvan* or "wife-abductor". Similarly in the Minyam clan, which has two sub-clans, viz. Fakan and Aswen, a Fakan man may not marry an Aswen girl, but he may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Aswen man. If, however, a member of one sub-clan goes to reside in the village of another sub-clan of his own clan the normal rules permitting marriages by elopement are in abeyance. To take an example, if an Aswen man of the Minyam clan goes to reside at a Fakan village (Minyam clan) he is not entitled to elope with the wife of anyone in that village. As already observed, elopement marriages create a feeling of hostility, and it is considered undesirable that fighting should take place within the local group. It is possible that the whole system of clan exogamy is the outcome of the desire to

[1] A Minyam man need not necessarily marry an Agbat girl as a primary wife, and vice versa. He may marry a girl of the Aku or Shokwa clan, or of some other tribe.

[2] Aku and Shokwa being small clans practise extra-clan elopements.

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avoid hostility between neighbouring groups. The residents of one group elope with or abduct the wives of residents of a neighbouring group, and vice versa. Hostility results, and in time the group agrees to abandon wife-stealing,[1] and to exchange daughters instead. A man is thus debarred from marrying the daughters of his own community, as they are required for the neighbouring community. This process becomes extended to other communities, and all the communities become in time merged into a single exogamous clan. We can see this process at work among the Katab and neighbouring tribes. It may be objected that among the Katab we have a clear example of a reverse process, for within the clan we have sub-clans which elope with each others' wives. But the answer would appear to be that the sub-clans are in process of becoming clans, and will eventually abandon the stealing of wives from each other. There was clear evidence of this tendency in the statement made by several men of the Nje sub-clan that they would prefer to give up the practice of eloping with the wives of the men of Kpaisa and marry their daughters instead, and that they were only prevented from carrying this suggestion into practice by the old men of the two sub-clans concerned, who would, of course, regard the proposal as incestuous.

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There is a further factor which tends to induce groups which practise elopement marriages to give up the practice, and that is the frequent uncertainty as to the paternity of a child born to a runaway wife. The Katab have numerous rules for meeting this difficulty (as will be seen later), but a margin of uncertainty still remains, and it may well be on this account that a clan organization tends to spring into existence, or, where it is already in existence, that sections of a clan each tend to become separate clans.

583 851

When we come to the sub-divisions of the sub-clan we find considerable variations, elopement marriages being sometimes permissible and sometimes not. Thus in the Aswen sub-clan, which consists of the following groups, each occupying its own territory, (*a*) Alan-Amurum, (*b*) Yagofo, (*c*) Awai, (*d*) Magamiya, and (*e*) Kofo, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*e*) refrain from eloping with each others' wives, and this rule even applies to women who were formerly wives of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), or (*e*), and have since gone elsewhere.

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[1] For instances of this see later notes on the Kagoro tribe.

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582 All abduct the wives of (*d*), and vice versa. Both Magamiya and Kofo are of foreign origin, but no reason was assigned for the
● 583 difference in treatment accorded to each. It is said that in
612 bygone days (*a*) and (*b*) used to abduct the wives of (*c*), but the practice was abandoned when (*c*) became numerically strong. (*a*) and (*b*) have at no time eloped with each others' wives, because they consider themselves to be blood-relatives. In the sub-clan of Fakan the only communities which may elope with each others' wives are the towns of Zonzon and Sako. But the Bobai kindred of Zonzon will not elope with the wife of any Sako man, and vice versa, on the ground of blood-relationship. There does not appear to be any wife abduction between the sub-divisions of Shokwa. As regards Aku, the Akuzan and Akuchan do not elope with each others' wives, but I omitted to obtain information as to the conduct of these two sections towards the third section, viz. Asalio.

601 *Terms of Relationship and Social Regulations.*—The terms of relationship of the Katab tribe are given in the following lists. The terms are used by both males and females, except where otherwise stated :—

*Atio* is applied to a father, father's brothers, mother's brothers (for whom the term *angat* is also used), father's and mother's sister's husband, husband's father, husband's father's brother, and husband's mother's brother.

*Ayang* is applied to a mother, father's sisters, mother's sisters, father's and mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, father's co-wife.

*Ngwan* is applied to a son, daughter, brother's child, sister's child, husband's brother's child, wife's brother's child, husband's sister's child, wife's sister's child, brother's son's wife.

*Nanyuk* is applied to full or half-brothers and sisters, father's brother's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child. It is also a general term for " relative ". Elder and younger brothers (or sisters), are distinguished by the terms *nhwop* (or *neohwop*) and *shisho*. The term *ngwanaiyuk*, i.e. child of my brother (or sister), is a more particular term to describe nephews and nieces.

*Atio-hwop* is applied to father's or mother's father, father's mother's brother, father's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, mother's father's brother. The term *nungvanu* or " wife stealer " is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply that term to him. A female applies the term *atuok* or " husband " to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply to her the term *aviyuk* or " wife ".

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on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

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or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying: "Take this child in full payment of the labour which you, in your suitor days, expended on my farm." The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of 7*s.*, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her marriage trousseau. If the payment were not made the wife's parents could retain the child, a custom found among the Matabele of South Africa. In the case of offspring born to a secondary wife (i.e. one who had eloped) it is the first child that has to be redeemed by the money payment of 7*s.*, and there is no claim on a second child. The reason for this is obvious, viz. that the husband of a secondary wife had performed no agricultural service on the farm of his parents-in-law. Among the neighbouring Kachichere tribe every child has to be redeemed from the mother's family. There is a fixed scale of cash payment to-day, viz. 5*s.* for the first child, 4*s.* for the second, 3*s.* for the third, and so on. (Compare the Hausa custom of "Kworia nono" and see Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*.)

These customs throw, perhaps, more light on the subject of the bride-price than they do on that of mother-right.[1] A woman who has proved her fertility is considered to be worth more than one who has not. The original bride-price has therefore to be supplemented when children are born. In this connection we are reminded of one of the laws of Hammurabi, which required that the bride-price should revert to the husband if the wife died without having borne him children.

The Katab custom of waiving the redemption payment on account of agricultural service rendered may indicate that marriage by capture was in earlier times the normal mode of marriage. The further custom of redeeming the second child for a payment, which is regarded as compensation for the girl's trousseau, is an interesting link between the bride-price and what may be regarded as a dowry, and also indicates that the claim on children may have had nothing to do with an inherent mother-right system, but was regarded merely as compensation for the loss at marriage of a daughter's services, and for the expense of fitting her out.

[1] For further data on this subject the reader is referred to the paper on the Mumuye-speaking peoples, vol. i, ch. viii.

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A female child is sought in marriage almost as soon as she is born. Indeed, while a Katab woman is still enceinte, the father of a boy may come and ask that, should her child be a girl, she may be affianced to his son (and add that should it be a boy he would be glad if the mother would name him after himself, promising to regard him as a son). If the request is granted and the child proves to be a girl, the father of the boy fastens a few cowries on her wrist as a symbol of appropriation. In the ordinary way, however, the girl is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, and it is important to note that the suitor never approaches the father of the girl directly in the first instance. He goes to the father's brother, for it is the father's brother who has the chief say in the disposal of the girl's hand and who receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl. If the girl has no paternal uncle her hand may be at the disposal of a male paternal cousin.[1] It is for this reason that a playmate relationship is not permitted between a man and a female cousin to whom he may one day stand in the relation of guardian. When the girl grows up, and perchance finds she dislikes her betrothed, she would, through her girl friends, make her parents aware of her distaste, and the engagement would be broken off. But such a course would be unusual, as the maiden, even on the marriage day, is too young to hold any strong opinions of her own. She is formally betrothed at the age of seven, the fiancé presenting four chickens to the bridegroom's father. In that and every succeeding year the bridegroom and his friends perform one day's collective work on the farm of the girl's father (or her uncle if she has been, as commonly happens, adopted by her father's brother or cousin). This farm work may be commuted for a cash payment. Two thousand cowries or their equivalent are also given to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e. brothers and paternal cousins. The bride-price is 20,000 cowries given to the father (of which he keeps two-thirds for his own use, distributing the balance among his relatives). Before the final rites a goat must be presented to the girl's mother, three chickens to the father, and one hundred cowries to her maternal grandfather. The

[1] And sometimes maternal, though I omitted to obtain detailed instances.

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583 father of the girl then fixes a day for the capture of the bride by the bridegroom. She is sent off on some fictitious errand, is captured by the bridegroom's friend, lifted on their shoulders, and carried to his house. One of my servants witnessed a capture. The maid was sitting in the market at Zangon Katab, selling beans (by her mother's orders). Three young men suddenly appeared, and the strongest caught her by the legs and carried her off screaming, with her legs over his shoulders and her head pointing downwards. She struggled violently and bit him, and after having covered 300 yards he was glad to hand her over to his assistants. No doubt they all arrived at the husband's home very much the worse for wear. Parents state that the capture ceremony saves them the pain of parting with their daughter, but it is apparent that until comparatively recent times the capture of a bride was a real and not a mock affair. For the Katab were accustomed to capture, when they could, virgins and married women from other tribes; and it was permissible within the tribe for one clansman to capture a girl who was betrothed to a fellow clansman. If the captor belonged to the same subdivision as the fiancé he repaid the fiancé all his expenses, as custom compelled the fiancé to resign his claim for ever. But if the captor belonged to a different subdivision there would be no repayment, as the fiancé was permitted to elope later with the woman to whom he had formerly been [178] betrothed. The capture of affianced girls has now been abandoned, the tribe having come to regard it as inconsistent with modern conditions. Moreover, with the increase of the bride-price, a captor would find it difficult to repay a sub-clansman whose fiancée he had captured. The captured bride is deposited in the hut of one of the bridegroom's relatives, and 585 remains there for three nights. On the fourth night she is taken to the bridegroom's house and the marriage is consummated. If the bridegroom discovers that the bride is not *virgo intacta* he abuses her roundly, but he does not, like the Hausa, advertise 582 the fact to the world. The Katab has good reason to expect 836 virginity, for though premarital cohabitation is practised between a girl and her fiancé and other lads, with the connivance of her parents, many Katab girls find themselves married women before they have reached the age of puberty. It is revolting to our ideas, and also appears to be against the law of nature, that

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matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

*Family Life and Occupations.*—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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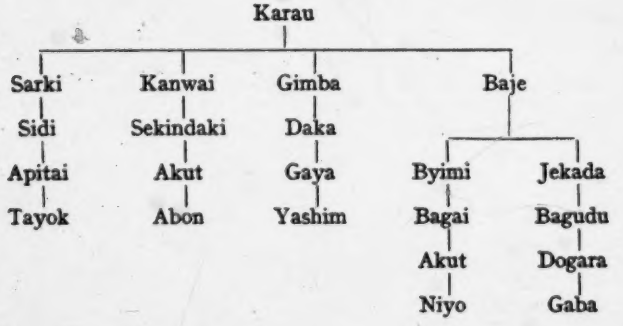
Kachichere



619 the Katab district being administered by the Katuka, both of
648 whom are district headmen of the Emir of Zaria. In former times they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chiefs of Kajuru, from whom the Kachichere Chief received the sacred sword which was, in pre-Fulani days, the emblem of office.

619 I spent two days among the Kachichere, my inquiries being merely directed towards ascertaining the character of the social
614 organization. The tribe, if it can be called a tribe, consists of four social groups: (1) the Ne-Tabin, (2) the Ne-Chobiam, (3) the Ne-Tiet, and (4) the Iningwa-Tiap.

614 The members of each group believe themselves to be blood relatives, and as they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather, they may be regarded as kindreds rather than clans. The Ne-Tabin pedigree was given as follows:—




614 Each kindred constitutes for marriage purposes a single exogamous unit; that is to say, no Tabin may marry a Tabin,
582 but a Tabin may marry a member of any of the other kindreds.
583 There are no family totems, but all respect the crocodile and leopard. There is no grouping, as among the Katab, which permits of the contraction of sub-marriages by wife elopement. It is a taboo for any Kachichere to elope with the wife of any other Kachichere. Sub-marriages may, however, be contracted with wives obtained from neighbouring tribes.

614 The kindreds are not localised, but live together intermingled
621 in a single village-area. The civil Chief of the Kachichere of the Katuka's district belongs to the Tabin kindred, and his

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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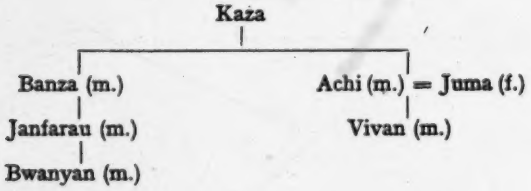
Kachichere



"madaiki" or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5*s*. for the first child, 4*s*. for the second, 3*s*. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a "grandmother" marriage was obtained :—




On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma "Mother"; he did not adopt the rôle of "father-in-law" to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan "Father". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Kagoro



582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated 587 851 afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists 582 621 of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. [162] 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadan wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Kagoro



621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.

[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife, but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority.
[431] If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.

[582 A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid
602] immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat
582 ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of
621 snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake,
[761] but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Morwa



582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe
614 are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of
586 bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents
428 and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[431] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she
604 bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
597 payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba



up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

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Women of all sections of the Katab tribe also wear a stud or plug (about half-an-inch in diameter and length) in the upper lip. This is not an uncommon feature in Nigeria, but is not found among immediately adjacent peoples, so far as can be determined, and so effectively sets off members of the Katab Group from their neighbours all around.

As distinctive as the *oyam*, though surprisingly neglected by Meek in his definition of the Katab culture-complex, is the massive head-board or tray on which women of the Katab Group carry their loads: this is of unusual size, often a yard long and half as wide, and ovoid (or an elongated octagon) in shape: it is carved of a light-weight wood, flat, with a low rim, sometimes decorated with incised geometrical (rarely, stylized but realistic animal) figures, and invariably stained with red ochre. Meek notes that among the Katab proper a mother delivers her child on her head-board which "thereafter bears a semi-sacred character." The precise distribution of this article cannot be determined, but it does not appear to be used outside the area now occupied by the Katab Group.[7]

The dress of men of the Katab Group does not seem to be distinctive in any particular detail. The traditional garb appears to have been a skin loin-covering, and elders were distinguished by a skin across the shoulders. To-day, cloth is commonly used in place of skin; Hausa-Fulani caps, particularly the *fula*, and gowns, even the *riga*, may be worn by elders in civil occupations. But the priests maintain traditional styles, and all cloth is cast off at religious observances. There is some evidence that certain members of the Group,[8] if not all, wear the penis-sheath—an item virtually universal among tribes immediately to the east and south, in Plateau Province, though apparently not found in historic times westward in Nigeria.

Tribal marks of the same pattern are worn by Katab proper, Ataka, Ikulu, Kagoro, Kaje, Kamantan, and Moroa: for a man, these consist of 41 vertical scars across the forehead, nine on each cheek, and a fringe of 24 tiny cuts along the edge of the jaw; they are similar for a woman, but number 55, 17, and 26 respectively. In addition women receive intricate markings on chest, abdomen, and back. According to Meek (1931) "boys commonly refuse to be marked" to-day; the position as regards women is not clearly stated, but adult women attending the Kafanchan market in 1949–50 with very few exceptions had the markings described. There is no clear information regarding the markings used, if any, by Jaba, Kachichere, Kagoma, and Kaninkon. Early investigators ascribe the invention of these marks to the Katab proper.

(iv) *Social Organization: Marriage Customs*

Katab practices do not clearly distinguish the members of the Group from certain of their neighbours (especially the peoples of the Kauru hills, the Chawai, Irigwe, Kadara, even—according to D. A. Percival—the Shuwalbe and Buli tribes of Fulani in the area, among others); but the practices outlined below are apparently universal among members of the Group, with the possible exception of Kaninkon, about whom no information is available.

(*a*) *Secondary Marriage Constituting Serial Polyandry:* A virgin goes to live as a wife with a man who has made customary payments and performed farm-labour for her parents. After a period fixed by public opinion as decorous, she may leave her first (primary) husband to live with another man, who has secretly won her favour and secured by payments to her parents rights over children which she may bear him: she is, thus, his wife in every sense, but her primary marriage has not been dissolved, and she may, in due course, return to her primary husband. In theory, she may add indefinitely to the number of her husbands, circulating among them, living with each in turn for as long as she chooses (but never less than the fixed period); in practice, however, the number is usually small, and a woman may

[7] Wooden head-trays are used elsewhere, most notably by near neighbours of the Katab peoples on the High Plateau, but patterns differ radically from the Katab.

[8] Namely, Katab proper, according to Meek in *Northern Tribes*, though he fails to mention the subject in *Tribal Studies*, Moroa, according to Temple, and Kaje, according to Reynolds.

never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

(*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

(*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[a]

*Occupations: Division of Labour*

Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by males,[b] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees( in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

[a] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[b] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

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According to Meek, Katab have adopted, apparently purely as a recreation, the *sharo* (*sharau, shado*, etc.) form of initiation ordeal, practised by some of the local Fulani "tribes," among whom, though it is not universally practised, the activity is to all appearances psycho-pathological in character, as it is carried out at the present time. The Katab, however, bind their bodies with cloth as protection against the cane-blows by their fellow-contestants, and *chadong gane*—as it is called in the vernacular—becomes a game of tag.

The taking of heads in war does not appear to have been regarded as a necessary condition to the status of adulthood, though an adult's status was enhanced by success in battle. (See also *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below.)

### *Marriage*

In the case of primary marriage, a girl may be engaged at birth, but normally she is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, through the father's brother or "a male paternal cousin," and "is formally betrothed at the age of seven." Payment and/or service are as follows: (1) four fowls to girl's father; (2) one day's labour, aided by suitor's friends, annually on farm of girl's father (or cash in lieu of service); (3) 2,000 cowries or their equivalent to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e., brothers and paternal cousins; (4) presumably at the time of the actual wedding, an additional 20,000 cowries to the father (who keeps two-thirds for his use, distributing the balance among his relatives);[35] (5) before the final rites, a goat to the girl's mother, three fowls to the father, and 100 cowries to her maternal grandfather.[36] A date is then set by the girl's father for the wedding, which takes the form of capture, convincingly carried out, according to Meek: friends of the suitor seize the girl and leave her in the hut of a relative of the suitor, where she remains for three nights; on the fourth night, the marriage is consummated in the hut of her mother-in-law, where she lives until given her own hut at the end of the first year.

According to Meek, "many Katab girls" are married before puberty. Primary marriages always take place during the dry season (October-March), except in the rare case of an unseasonable pregnancy, when "the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé." Premarital intercourse is said to be unusual because lineages (and clans) are localized.

As regards secondary marriage, a man may not contract a union with a married woman who is (*a*) a member of his own clan, (*b*) a "close" relation of his mother (that is, presumably, a member of his mother's lineage), (*c*) a member of a primary wife's parental household (it is not clear whether affines of his primary wife are included in this prohibition, or her sisters and cousins who have married out of the household), (*d*) the wife of a member of his own kindred, or (*e*) the wife of a fellow-villager. As has already been pointed out, members of Minyam and Agbat clans are enjoined to seek secondary wives among the wives of fellow-clansmen, within the limits indicated here; members of Aku and Shokwa clans, on the contrary, extend the prohibition described at (*d*), above, to the wives of fellow-clansmen, and take their secondary wives from the men of Minyam and Agbat. According to Meek, secondary marriage-payments amount to 15 shillings cash and one goat (1931); when secondary wives are obtained from neighbouring tribes, marriage-payments commonly follow, rather than precede, "elopement."

[35] In the same paragraph Meek stresses inexplicably that "the father's brother . . . receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl."

[36] The cowrie was discontinued as a medium of exchange in 1919, at *c.* 2,400–3,000 = one shilling, in Zaria City. Whether it is, or was at the time of Meek's investigation, still actually used in marriage negotiations is not clear, at least to the complete exclusion of legal tender. Re marriage payments Meek notes, ". . . members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It it is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift."

According to
Temple, twins are considered lucky. An " unsound " child was drowned, at about the age of four years, " or sometimes later." Children are suckled two years, according to Tremearne, during which time the wife lives apart from her husband: during this period, in the case of the first-born of any union (see *Marriage*, below), the mother resides in her parents' compound, according to Smith; and after its termination, towards the end of the dry season, she prepares beer for the annual *obwai* rites of her father's clan (see *Burial* and *Religious Beliefs*, below).

*Initiation*

Boys are circumcised at about the age of eight years—whether or not ritually or in groups is not indicated. At about 10 years, apparently in groups, they are initiated into the *obwai* cult: according to Smith, each clan has its own *obwai* priest and shrine; whether any attempt is made to co-ordinate the initiation rites held by the different clans is not stated. Temple describes the initiation rites as follows (after Tremearne): " [The boys] are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed." During the course of their detention, the boys are told that *obwai* is a secret invention to discipline women, according to Smith. Revealing this secret to women was punished with death or banishment before Administration, and is still discouraged, though Smith states that " in 20th century conditions [*obwai*] does not command awe among initiated males; and has lost some former functions."

According to Temple: " The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriage-able age. . . ."

As already indicated, there is said to have been no special mark to identify a man who had taken a head, but, according to Tremearne, a man " was not supposed to have attained to the full dignity of manhood until he had killed someone " (see p. 96, above).

*Marriage*

Smith's analysis of Kagoro marriage is the most detailed available for peoples treated in this volume. An adaptation of his more complete account follows.

In general, marriage among Kagoro conforms very closely to Meek's description of the institution among Katab. Basically, marriage is virilocal, though a couple may share the husband's father's or husband's mother's brother's compound. Polygyny is permitted, that is, a man may support several wives in his compound simultaneously; a woman may have several husbands simultaneously, in fact, but her several husbands always maintain separate compounds in different villages, and there she " visits " them.[84] Marriage contracts may be classified as follows:

(1) Primary: bride is unmarried.[85]
(2) Secondary: bride has been previously married to any man other than (i) a fellow clansman or (ii) one in the *siendi* relationship.[86]
  (*a*) By betrothal.
  (*b*) By capture.

[84] Smith rejects the term *polyandry* as applying among Kagoro: however, *serial polyandry* seems to this investigator useful and meaningful in this situation, if it is made clear that divorce is not implicit in the term.

[85] *N.B.*, traditionally, no such thing as divorce existed among Kagoro.

[86] As regards marriage in general, relations between Kagoro clans (*kwai*) are classified as *siendi*, or as *sendwang*: a man takes his primary wife or wives from among the previously unmarried girls of clans that are traditionally in the *siendi* relationship with his own clan; he takes secondary wives from among the *wives* of men of clans in the *sendwang* relationship with his own clan and living in another village. (Close examination of Smith's report does not reveal whether women born into the same clan as his own primary wife, when married to men of clans *sendwang* with respect to the man's own clan, are excepted.)

with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes, who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a "normal" *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a "reasonable" period with her inheritor.

There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—"serial polyandry", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat*, *idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary "inheritance" of his wives by his "heirs", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the

| | *Population (1931)* |
|---|---|
| Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101] | 184 |
| Biniki (Beniki) | 253 |
| Bangyel (Bungen) | 46 |
| Bwandom (Bandong) | 515 |
| Chambano (Chonbano) | 194 |
| Chori | 253 |
| Gizagwai (Kisagwai) | 354 |
| Kajim | 68 |
| Mahuta | 345 |
| Manchok | 605 |
| Randiyan (Nandiyam) | 274 |
| Unguwar Gora (Gora) | 203 |
| Zangam | 375 |
| Zankan | 488 |
| Total | 4,157 |

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243), [102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje



and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

### *Marriage*

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's " capture ": friends of the husband " abduct " her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

### *Death and Burial*

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

whether rites are performed at each village more or less independently, and if the latter, whether a boy is initiated in his own or his mother's village. 881

At initiation the boys are secluded for five days " in the house of Ku "; the *ku* appears to be very much the equivalent of the Katab *obwai*, in Meek's view,[139] but that term does not seem to be used by Jaba. The boys are beaten and the essential secrets of the cult revealed to them. At the end of their confinement they are taken secretly into the bush and " bathed in white mud . . . to give them the appearance of having been vomited up by the Ku." They then return to the village and are anointed with oil by their mothers, and beat all girls with whom they used to play, " for they have now become manly and children of the Ku." Further rites follow, including hunts in the bush, and five additional nights are spent in the *ku* house. When they finally return home they may not speak with women relatives for a period of three months, to mark the end of which the boys perform a day of farm labour for the priest and " the women prepare a feast and pray the boys that they may once again hear them speak."

According to Meek, there is among Jaba " a female society," the precise character of which is not made plain (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below). Initiation, however, is said to enable a woman to take an animal shape. Whether the *ku* initiation of boys has the same effect is not stated.

### *Marriage*

Betrothal is fixed by a gift to the girl's father of " a ring, a fowl, or 2,000 cowries," according to Temple. Until a girl reaches marriageable age (nine or ten years), her mother receives annually from the suitor a bag of acha or guinea-corn. At that time, then, the suitor presents her father with a " large " hoe (presumably the great spurred hoe of this region), and six goats; he dispenses a quantity of *tuo* (Hausa, guinea-corn porridge) among her relatives; and finally sends the bride cosmetic oil. The bride is then brought by girls of her village (hence her kin-group) to her husband's compound, where he awaits her in the company of male friends. The bride, groom and their attendants then partake of a feast of *tuo*, the sexes segregated. According to Temple, payments of the equivalent of two shillings annually are made to the wife's parents by the husband or his heirs as long as the wife lives, but only so long as, and while, she remains in his compound: secondary marriage (with the connivance of the wife's parents) obtains among Jaba as among Katab and others of this region: as indicated already, apart from observing the ordinary rules of exogamy, a man must seek secondary wives in neighbouring villages—including those of neighbouring " tribes." 583 587

### *Burial*

Meek describes a decanter-type grave for Jaba, but Temple, a shaft-and-tunnel. A chief is buried under the " porch " of his house. When a chief dies (whether " tribal " chief, or head of village or hamlet—and kinship unit—is not stated), the body is prepared by a gathering of elders; the body of a commoner is prepared for burial by women relatives. According to Temple, the heirs and relatives provide beer and meat for a feast, cooked by the women outside the " Magajin dodo's house " (the " Ku house " referred to by Meek?). A voice from within, interpreted as that of the spirit of the deceased, salutes his friends and thanks them for their gifts. The women thereupon fly to their houses, while the men remain to devour the meat. 764

### Religious Beliefs

Meek states that " Jaba appear to have been worshippers of the sun," no doubt basing his speculation on the fact that *sun* and *god* are homophones in Jaba language (Meek does not mark tone in his vocabulary). 771

[139] However, Meek does not indicate explicitly any connection with the ancestor cult. See *Religious Beliefs*, below.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje



342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five
[768] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
799 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
787 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

582 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.
[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.
582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three
[836] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the
[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the